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ABSTRACT

Trends of educational change in (formerly) East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria are examined as restructuring takes place during the establishment of democratic political processes. These trends are culled from over 50 onsite semistructured interviews in August 1990, as part of a longitudinal study to document educational reform in this region. The theoretical framework, definitions, and methodology of the study precede the discussion of patterns of change of restructuring efforts that fall into five broad themes. They are decentralizing of educational administration; democratization within the schools; pluralism in school reform; curricular reform; and increased choice for local educational stakeholders such as teachers, students, and parents. Six challenges are considered most pertinent to educational restructuring. They are bureaucratic inertia, resource and planning requirements, retraining/training teachers for new pedagogy and content, the search for a new national identity, building on previous educational reform, and trust in the government. The paper concludes with reflections on change patterns. (RR)

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The Courtship and Consequences of Liberalization: A Snapshot of Educational Restructuring in Central East Europe

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Draft prepared for participants at the
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Executive Summary

In the fall of 1989, the world was turned on its head in Central East Europe. Swift, relatively bloodless revolutions translated years of popular resolve against authoritarian rule into the establishment of democratic political processes. Free elections have since been held throughout the region. New leaders grapple with the formidable task of establishing democratic institutions and promoting its filial foundation, democratic culture. Schools have taken on new roles, as promoters and preservers of this participatory political system. How have these new roles been envisioned by educational leaders and what are the immediate challenges to educational restructuring?

This paper outlines the trends for educational change in (formerly) East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.* Based on primary interviews conducted with over 50 educational leaders in the ministries of education, in research institutions, unions and opposition parties during August 1990, the broad-brush stroke restructuring themes include:

- Decentralization in management, finance, and curriculum control
- Concurrent democratization of staffing and decisionmaking at the school level
- New school forms, such as private and religious schools, and non-comprehensive school educational models
- Revised curriculum content and classroom pedagogy
- Increased opportunities for individual choice and voice, for teachers, students and parents

These ambitious restructuring goals had been enacted or proposed in legislation as of August 1990. Even at that time, it was clear that this courtship of liberalization would be tried in many ways, due to limited resources, bureaucratic inertia, and the inexperience of teachers. Deeper philosophical issues that have yet to be resolved include (a) reduced equality of access in the advent of privatization of schools, and (b) the character of the ideal citizen in the wake of renewed ethnic and religious factionalism, a nostalgia for the past, and a desire to be part of a market-oriented, integrated Europe. Such challenges remain as well as the prospect that schools will make a promising contribution to the establishment of democratic culture in Central East Europe.

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*Romania was not included in this research effort, partly because there is considerable doubt about the country's commitment to democratic forms of governance.

I. INTRODUCTION

> "We are living now in a new situation, full of chances and new openess and possibilities to realize new prospects."
> -- Dr. Kaltenborg, Head, International Department, East German Ministry of Education

These are exciting days indeed. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the crumbling of the iron curtain in the region formerly known as the Eastern bloc has lifted human spirits across geographic boundaries. The notion of democracy, if ever taken for granted in the West, has been reified. But the inestimable challenge for the countries of Central East Europe is how to forge the course from former authoritarian regimes to political democracies, given the experiences of the last 40 years.

To this end, indigenous educational systems are being remade in form and substance both to reflect a commitment to new democratic processes and to prepare "new citizens" for participation in them. Although this region of the world cannot be treated as a monolith, there are global changes taking place that give the outsider a flavor for the direction of restructuring in Central East Europe. This paper in part serves as an introduction to these broad-based transpositions.

The trends presented in this paper are culled from on-site interviews conducted in this region in August 1990. As the first phase of a longitudinal study to document educational reform, a Norwegian-American research team visited five Central East European countries in order to document the ideologies and expectations of a small number of educational elites. We obtained baseline data on these elites regarding their aims for the educational system in light of recent political/ economic changes and specific educational reform initiatives. The researchers hoped to begin to document the current agendas of elites and the route to renewed nationhood.

In this paper, I present an overview of the ambitious restructuring goals in the K-12 systems, most of which had been enacted or proposed in legislation as of August 1990. In this paper, I will present avenues for change, but also unaddressed dilemmas for these countries. I also touch on the formidable challenges to educational reform, including limited resources, bureaucratic inertia, teacher retraining needs and ethnic and religious factionalism. I will not present evidence for every point from all the countries, nor talk about the nuances of these themes for each of the countries.

Instead, I will draw a topographical map of the reform terrain, a chart that students of the region might refer to in upcoming years in tracking the course of change.

II. THEORETICAL BACKDROP

Theoretical Framework

In approaching the research, I make two theoretical assumptions particularly relevant for periods of political transition. The first assumption is that educational reform is strongly influenced by political and economic forces external to the educational systems themselves. In this period of nation-building, educational reform will reflect (at least in appearance) the changes in ideology, structure and process taking place in other public institutions. In addition, national systems of education will assist in the evolution towards democratic forms of governance and market economies.

The second theoretical assumption I make is that educational elites will be particularly influential in determining the direction of reform. According to George Moysner, the study of elites is "particularly relevant...[for] concrete and immediate issues of social engineering." I use Moysner's definition of elites as those who occupy positions of authority, including those in socially significant hierarchies such as national assemblies, bureaucracies and academia. It is particularly interesting to study East European elites because of the turnover in leadership at the highest levels as well the emergence of new elite structures as a consequence of decentralization.

Some Definitions.

Political scientists have pointed out that "democracy" is an ideal form of government, and that it is preferable to use the concepts "democratization" and "liberalization" when talking about political reform with a democratic aim (Dahl, 1971; Huntington, 1968; O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986). Given this understanding, liberalization is the process of redefining and extending rights that protect both individuals and social groups from arbitrary or illegal acts committed by the state or third parties. Democratization is the process whereby the rules and procedures of citizenship are either applied to political institutions previously governed by other principles, are expanded to include persons not previously enjoying such rights and obligations, or are extended to cover

issues and institutions not previously subject to citizen participation.** New rights and democratic procedures in the schools are the crux of educational change in Central East Europe.

Methodology

The study drew on the methodology of the study of elites for understanding and anticipating structure-based change. The traditional methods of elite research involve in-depth, often semi-structured interviews supplemented by the collection and analysis of published and primary and secondary material.

The initial findings are based primarily on semi-structured interviews conducted with over 50 educational leaders (elites) in the ministries of education, research institutions, unions and opposition parties in five East European countries during August 1990. The research was conducted by the author and Arild Tjeldvoll, an associate professor of education affiliated with the University of Norway at Oslo.

The interviewees were asked a number of open-ended questions pertaining to their beliefs about democracy, equality, the relationship of these concepts to the aims of the national educational system and their predictions about changes that might take place in their respective educational systems (primary, secondary and university levels). We also collected information on the background of the interviewee (both before and after the revolutions) and their perception of their relative influence in educational change. In addition to taking notes by hand, all of the conversations were tape-recorded and portions transcribed.

A weakness of the methodology is that district- and local-level administrators and educators were not interviewed for the study. Although the second phase of the study anticipates their participation, there is no way to include local perspectives in the current conclusions. Also, we have not had the opportunity to test the reform ideologies of the elites against the actual changes that have presumably taken place in the last six months. (A return trip is planned for the upcoming summer.)

** O'Donnell, G. and Schmitter, P.C. (1986). Transitions from Authoritarian Rule:Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, pp.7-8 .

III. PATTERNS OF CHANGE

Brief Background on the Unified, Comprehensive School Systems.

After the imposition of one-party systems of government in the years following World War II, education was nationalized and provided free of charge in all of the East European countries, except Poland. (Here resistance in the civil society has remained strong and the unified comprehensive school system never took root.). The new educational systems had a unified primary and secondary school structure, with eight to ten years of compulsory education required. Pre-school, or nursery, was provided for children from ages 3 to 6. After compulsory schooling in the public school, a child proceeded to a comprehensive secondary school or another institute, such as a vocational-technical secondary school or college. This description oversimplifies these educational systems, of course, but it is a working starting point.

The comprehensive schools had several curricular characteristics quite pertinent for current educational reform. First of all, schools of the same grade and orientation had the same national curricula and syllabi, as well as textbooks (with the exception of Hungary, which liberalized prior to 1989). There was a special emphasis on science and math. Marxist-Leninist principles were incorporated into required courses and textbooks in order to develop the "communist personality" in students. Russian language courses were compulsory .

In a secondary source, a Hungarian described quite eloquently aspects of educational reform that took place under the communist party-state system:

> Not only have the numbers of technical and vocational institutions increased enormously, but even outside these, much stress is now laid on "practical" studies; the expansion of the humane studies has been much less rapid. Efforts are devoted to inculcating ideological orthodoxy; the curriculum laid down by law for secondary schools includes "the furtherance of education in socialist ideology" ... For some years after the advent of communism the rule existed that when a student applied for admission to higher studies, not only his abilities but his social origins were to be taken into account.†
>
> †Nagy, E. (1984) Hungary Encyclopedia American, international edition, Vol. 14. Danbury, CT: Grolier Incorporated.

Ironically, many of these forays will be mirrored by the efforts of the new democratic leaders.

I have categorized the restructuring efforts of (formerly) East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria into six broad themes: decentralization of educational

administration; democratization within the schools; pluralism in school form; curricular reform; and increased choice (voice) for local educational stakeholders, such as teachers, students and parents. I will present these themes separately, using the voices of leaders interviewed in August 1990.

1. Decentralized Decisionmaking and Control.

A predictable reaction to an educational system that had been strictly and centrally controlled is to reformulate it such that decisionmaking becomes more diffuse. In this spirit, the central educational bureacracies are being trimmed down, with management, finance and curriculum control being passed on to regional and local agencies and schools, as well as the teachers themselves. The first, perhaps simplest, change in this area is the opening up of certain curricular content to schools and teachers. This includes the option to develop curriculum in certain subjects, such as language arts and civics, and to develop new courses and electives, such as business. This reform is relatively cheap and easy to adopt; hence it has been adopted in all five countries.

The speed and form of restructuring in other, more complex, areas, such as educational finance, is being mitigated by each country's style of management and leadership. For example, in Poland, where local civil culture is quite insistent, many are pressing for the delivery of substantial local autonomy in educational matters. In Hungary, where a tradition of "friendly" centralized control extends back over a century, educational restructuring seems to be headed towards the creation of regional administrative structures. Here are some of the comments of elites in the countries.

> Before now all the curriculum in Poland was the same in every school. If you went to Cracow and Warsaw, you saw the same curriculum, the same handbooks. And now schools can prepare their own programs.
> -- Krysztof Szafraniec, Research and Curriculum Development, Polish Institute of Vocational Education and Training

> Teachers will have responsibility for the instruction in new fields. Not only in the content of the school will teachers have more responsibility but also in the finance, the allocation of the budget...Apart from this, at the local level there will be restructuring of local municipal organizations and the inspector role.
> -- Dr. Smejkalova, Director, Czechoslovakian Institute of Educational Research

> I would like to talk first about the change in self government. Until this law, there was a hierarchy from the Ministry to the county council, the district council and the village council. The task and the right of the Minister was total: to determine the tasks of these other councils. The leadership and information went through this chain. It also means that the Minister had contact only with the county councils...At this moment, every place, every village and town, has equal rights. It means subordination disappears..The task of the local councils will be the nurseries and the general school. The county council had the task of regulating education, meaning mainly secondary schools.
> -- Györyne Spengler, Head, Department of Public Education, **Hungarian** Ministry of Education

> From a very centralized system, they want to change not to total decentralization. This is a very big discussion in the Parliament. Because the ruling party wants the old [centralized] system and the new party wants to be more like the American system. In the American system, the local councils have great power...And the discussion in Parliament was along these lines. The European model of self government and the American system of big rights for the localities...The [self governing] law was ultimately a compromise.
> --Peter Szebenyi, **Hungarian** Centre for Oszagos Pedagociai Intezet

All of the countries are just beginning to implement these new administrative forms, which are constrained by several factors discussed in Section IV. These are the kinds of reforms that will be facinating to observe over the next few years.

2. Democratization of political processes in the school system

Throughout Central East Europe, education chiefs and school principals who had been appointed under the previous regime were elected in a compulsory, competitive campaign during the summer or early fall 1990. In some cases, school staff were the only voters in the election; other times, local councils also had a say. These elections obviously help "de-communize" key leadership positions. In addition, the hope is that since professional criterion, and not loyalty to the Party, will influence new management, they will be better qualified to run schools and will provide capable leadership for educational reform. Qualified headmasters might also remain in office.

> Before, headmasters were approved by the educational office of a district, who was decided in turn by the education officer of a county, and in turn by the Ministry of Education. Recently, all headmasters were fired and elections called for. Elections took place in August. But some schools had problems getting a majority, so in these instances, the old headmaster would remain in an acting position. It is expected that mostly teachers will be elected to headmaster positions. -- Dr. Eckard Kienast, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, **East Germany**

Although these elections have swiftly and democratically produced a turnover in local administrators, some educational veterans have expressed concern about this process. The Bulgarian Minister of Education pointed out that it is potentially problematic for the principal to be elected by the teachers he or she will be managing, since this could lead to corruption or the reluctance of administators to make unpopular decisions. Separate from this, a Hungarian union leader feels that the automatic firing has made schools "political battlegrounds".

None of the educational elites discussed the possibility of school-based leadership or "team leaders", although it seems likely that these management models will be tried in some of the schools systems. Local leadership seems a very fruitful avenue for future research in Central East Europe.

3. Pluralism in school form and structure (i.e., private, religious, noncomprehensive)

Privatization of schools has been authorized in all five countries. The establishment of new school forms are emerging only on a small-scale, probably due to lack of resources. In the upcoming years, however, we might no doubt find many more cooperative and religious schools.

A separate movement has begun among Czechs and Hungarians to reformulate the comprehensive school structure itself, so that differentiation would take place after the 4th, 6th or 8th year.

> There is a huge dissatisfaction with the school system. The majority think that children are kept together too long.
> --Peter Ti bor Nagy, Assistant Professor, University of Budapest, **Hungary**

The debate is particularly keen in these two countries since pre-World War II educational systems were organized along these lines.

Some educational elites, particularly in Hungary, are concerned that early streaming will affect the equality of access now promoted in the unified comprehensive system. Although discussion about differentiation inevitably raises questions about "trade-offs" between equality of access and overall quality in an educational system, these issues did not come up with elites unless explicitly included in interview questions. This leads one to wonder if the arguments for early streaming are propelled more by nationalism, than the merits of differentiation itself. In general, "nostalgia for

the past" seems to be a very powerful force for social change in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

> Of course, the nationalist wing thinks that you can differentiate very early because you need to give higher order thinking skills to some people. For the others, they thank that the "three Rs" and civics are sufficient. The other side is more democratic, in terms of European standards. The European democratic feeling is that for someone born in a poor village, they are against an early segregation."
> -- Peter Szebenyi, **Hungarian** Centre for Oszagos Pedagociai Intezet

4. Curricular changes

After 1948, as part of the attempt to inculcate the communist and pro-Soviet personality in schoolchildren, broad-based curricular and extra-curricular requirements were instituted in schools throughout the region.

> In schools, the critical authors were forgotten. History was rewritten; geography and civics were exagerated in the field of Soviet life and every child had to be a member of a youth organization...Very few resisted.
> --Jitka Machova, Vice Dean, Pedagogical Faculty, Charles University, **Czechoslovakia**

One of the first changes to take place in schools following the 1989 revolutions was the revision of curricular content and classroom pedagogy. Certain subjects were eliminated altogether, such as the required civics and philosophy courses that pertained to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Textbooks in many subjects are undergoing revision through elimination of the communist orientation and substitution of content that typically reflect national culture, such as the writings of famous indigenous authors. These revisions have usually been a cooperative effort between local educational agencies and the national educational systems. In Bulgaria, these curricular revisions have been very much spearheaded by the Ministry of Education.

> In the first place, we have subjects that were altogether scrubbed...Certain courses or subjects were removed, such as so-called scientific communism. Also, initial military training. And in general these subjects that have been removed are socially connected courses. They are replaced by new subjects such as philosophy, but this philosophy covers a wide range of topics, from ancient philosophy to modern philosophy...Another new subject is

> sociology in secondary schools. There is an increased and more extensive coverage of psychology, logics, ethics and what we call "law and morals"...On the other hand, there are changes in subjects such as history and literature. We took away the ideological dominance and introduced more facts--certain objective facts. And in literature, we took away the so-called socialist realism methods and we introduced more analysis of current literary trends. More emphasis is given to the classics and modern literature. And teachers and students have more freedom to choose authors to study. The greatest problem is deciding which Bulgarian authors to use.
> --Dr. Chernev, Minister of Public Education, **Bulgarian** Ministry of Education

Aside from the purging of Marxism-Leninism ideology from classes, Russian language instruction is now an optional rather than a compulsory curricular requirement. Several educational elites pointed out that Russian language proficiency continues to have utility, given the geo-political arrangements of the region. The bone of contention was that training in this language was obligatory in the past. Russian language instruction is now offered alongside other languages, including modern ones, although teachers for English, German and French are scarce.

A final area of curricular reform is in those extracurricular groups, such as the Young Pioneers, originally designed to reinforce the values of communist citizenship. Those clubs that were highly politicized have been banned (e.g., Poland), while those that had emphasized non-political activities (e.g., Czechoslovakia) have been allowed to continue in schools.

> It was the duty of the teachers of Russian to head Polish-Russian friendship clubs. They were the most indoctrinated teachers and now the most conservative..Most of them were members of the Party.
> --Wictor Kulerski, Vice Minister of National Education, **Polish** Ministry of Education and member of Parliament

> Pioneer organizations were not abolished because in some schools and localities during the 1980s, it was lead by youth other than politicians. I know it from my grandson. It was more like scouting.
> --Dr. Hana Prochazkova, European Centre for Further Information, **Czechoslovakia**

5. Increased choice (and voice) for teachers, students and parents

The increased voice of teachers in the schools systems is evident through the election of the principal and also by an increased opportunity for them to select and develop curriculum. In a similar fashion, students will have more electives in their course of study, increased opportunity to

consider alternative points of view, and greater access to university education. At the school level, both parents and students will have the chance to participate in decisionmaking, and at the national level, independent teacher unions are emerging. There are many variations on this theme for increased choice.

> The school has the right [due to earlier reforms] to change the timetable, to determine the number of classes per subject, to teach for five days or on a 10-day timetable...Then they have the right to choose their teaching methods. This is an old law, this freedom. And since 1978, teachers can choose part of their subject material...We have in our current national curriculum two parts: the compulsory material and the other part that is chosen freely by the school.
> --Gyozo Durst, **Hungarian** Ministry of Education

> Essentially, the [new elected school] director will not take the decisions himself or herself. There will be so-called pedagogical boards. There will be a head body consisting of teachers and some parents and they will take the responsibility for the operation of the school.
> -- Dr. Smejkalova, Director, **Czechoslovakian** Institute of Educational Research

> At the school level, there is the Pedagogical Council of Teachers. this council is above the principal. And if there is a conflict between the director and the council, they can go to a higher level [a local authority]...There is something new here. The members of these councils must have student representatives [secondary school only]...Parents are represented in both primary and secondary schools...The Pedagogical Council is not new but membership has been widened.
> --Dr. Chernev, Minister of Public Education, **Bulgarian** Ministry of Education

The degree and success of local stakeholders involvement in participatory processes is of utmost importance for the future of democratic culture in the towns and cities of this region. This is an area of particular interest for researchers within and outside the region.

I have presented the major change patterns for restructuring in Central East Europe. The pace and permeations for change will obviously vary by country, region, city and school. In the following section I address those factors that appear to have considerable impact on the immediate prospects for and directions of educational change. ††

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††The most unique case is (formerly) East Germany, where unification has meant that educational reform is directed towards the (formerly) West German model. Not all the challenges listed below are, therefore, relevant for the East German case.

IV. CHALLENGES TO CHANGE

There are numerous factors -- institutional, ideological and resource-related -- that will affect the educational reform patterns for each country. The interplay of these factors is not static. Their degree of influence waxes or wanes depending on the issues of the day. Many influences are linked, such as the demand for decentralization, nation-building and "cultural construction of national identity"; other objectives are competing or conflicting. Some factors impede educational reform (such as the need to retrain teachers); others are more neutral (the need to reestablish a new civic culture).

Because of this complexity, I offer my analysis more as a prospectus for change, rather than a set, inevitable and equally weighted list of elements affecting reform. The six challenges presented below are those that the author considers most pertinent to educational restructuring.

Challenge 1: Bureaucratic inertia

Although there is a popular interest in firing nomenklatura (those appointed by the Communist Party), new educational elites have hesitated for practical and sometimes moral reasons. On the one hand, some staff, such as teachers and university professors, have tenure under the previous system. Other times (and this is particularly true for many bureaucratic functions) individuals have a unique and immediately irreplaceable expertise.

The "out with the old" fervor has been mitigated by such practical considerations. With the exception of East Germany, where many educational institutions were abolished outright under unification, citizens of Central East European countries look suspiciously at some of those who remain in educational positions. This issue seemed particularly salient for Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, where reformed Communist parties have remained in power in the national government.

> [Resistance to reform is coming from] military officials and management in factories and agriculture, and even in regional committees...not so much local, but at the district level. And apparatus of the Communist Party. There are many people who profited from the black market system. And many teachers of Marxist philosophy and political history and Russian language profited.
> --Dr. Hana Prochazkova, Deputy Director, European Cenre for Further Education of Teachers, **Czechoslovakia**

> The worst people in the Communist regime have changed their [ideological] positions and are now back in the government and the universities.
> -- Peter Ti bor Nagy, Assistant Professor, University of Budapest, **Hungary**

> [Who will be the decisionmakers in the near future?] Bureacracy. A new bureaucracy. There is a Hungarian joke. The changes of the social system go on -- the hunters shoot, the birds scatter and settle on a different branch. But they are the same birds.
> -- Ferencné Biro, Institute of Pedagogy in Budapest and President of **Hungarian** History Teachers' Association

Challenge 2: Resource and Planning Requirements

Economic crises resulting from unhealthy economies and movements towards market economies are severely hindering restructuring. The planning and resources required for change are circumscribed throughout the region. Poland and the Baltic states are perhaps in the most dire economic positions, and Czechoslovakia the best.

In Czechoslovakia, educational leaders acknowledge that a change from an eight-year to nine-year compulsory educational system can only be realized gradually because of material conditions. In Poland, due primarily to financial constraints, educational change in the 1990-91 school year has focused on curricular reform, i.e., granting new rights to teachers to create their own curriculum, since is not costly to the government. The reader can easily imagine the myriad other ways in which scarce resources will hinder educational reform.

What may be difficult for outsiders to picture is the magnitude of the restructuring required. It is one thing to enact legislation authorizing the election of headmasters. It is another matter altogether to grapple with redesigning teacher training; to "match" teacher certification requirements between the "old" and the "new" systems (as (formerly) East Germany must do with West Germany); or to plan a grant-giving administrative structure (as Poland must) which will

redistribute federal grant monies that used to go to universities directly to university students. Textbook revision is among the highest priorities for educational change and the magnitude of effort in this single area is considerable. The Bulgarian Minister of Education described that country's progress in this area.

> For the current academic year, we have published new, revised textbooks. The changes are mostly of a political nature. Out of 1800 textbooks, 10% are new ones...Another 80% of the textbooks underwent partial changes and 10% were not changed at all, either because they don't need to be changed (such as books for mathematics) or because we don't have the ability to change them. we are having problems with paper supply and the printing equipment.
> --Dr. Chernev, Minister of Public Education, **Bulgarian** Ministry of Education

Challenge 3: Retraining/ training teachers for new pedagogy and content

Professor Stöhr, former Vice-President of the East German Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and now Chairman of the Education Subcommittee for National UNESCO, says that the most significant change for education in East Germany will be that individual students will have more opportunities to explore and develop themselves in the school environment. This emphasis on individualism is in direct contrast to the goals of the educational system which, until recently, was "to make people more similar."

For East Germany as for other countries in the region, this new philosophy means that schools will need to be a forum for individual development, pluralist viewpoints and critical thinking. Consonant with this new pedagogy, schools will need to help children respect and tolerate perspectives that are different than their own. This is radically different than official school policy over the last 40 years. How this will happen in the schools in the immediate future -- given that teachers themselves will need to support and become skilled in these new methods --is unclear. On the one hand, teacher training and in-service programs will obviously need to be created and reconstructed; this is a matter of resources and organizational planning. On the other hand, teachers will need to be receptive to changes in classroom practices; this condition is less understood.

[Reeducation of teachers] is the most difficult issue and we are not expecting very good results. There are 600,800 working teachers. Education in Poland was isolated from western education and was modeled on the Soviet view of education. They would use the easy method, where you could memorize facts but you were discouraged from thinking independently. This was the indoctrination of the teacher and, in a way, they were rewarded for that. In the Polish schools, only teachers and administrators had rights. Parents and students had responsibilities but no rights. As a result, the Polish teacher lacked autonomy and lacked initiative. They don't like to make decisions. They are used to authoritarian methods. They are used to orders, plans and programs -- nothing independent.
--Wictor Kulerski, Vice Minister of National Education, **Polish** Ministry of Education and member of Parliament

Suppose the salaries of teachers would be raised 100% -- which is important -- and schools were flooded with money for facilities and equipment. Even then, there would be no fundamental changes, because the thinking of teachers would not be changed. Optimistically, this could take 20 years, to shape a new thinking of education in teachers that would enable them to take full advantage of these other monetary changes.
--Ferencné Biro, Institute of Pedagogy in Budapest and President of **Hungarian** History Teachers' Association

Teaching methods are harder to change than subjects and contents. Methods and also exams. The dominant trend is from authoritarian methods towards the methods of cooperation. And turning the student from an object of education to the subject, with more opportunities for self determination. But so far, it has been difficult to break out of this, for two reasons: the teacher and also the students are not ready for this change...Up to now, the main method of teaching has been teachers writing things on the blackboard and students copying them down."
-- Dr. Chernev, Minister of Public Education, **Bulgarian** Ministry of Education

Educational systems will also have to deal with the immediate oversupply of Russian and civics teachers, as well as the undersupply of modern language teachers. This illustrates how political restructuring has complex, successive ramifications throughout the education sector.

Civics is cancelled in all schools...Student [teachers] in their last year of study, it is very difficult to retrain them, to give them another subject...In teacher training, we have also trained teachers to be leaders of Pioneer Groups. We have stopped this training. The Pioneer leaders, they are asking for new offers...The same is for teachers in the Russian language...We don't need as many Russian teachers as before. So what do we do with them?
--Dr. Sonnenshein, Head of Teacher Training, **East German** Ministry of Education

Challenge 4: The search for a new national identity

Amidst democratization and liberalization, Central East European countries are seeking to rediscover their national identities. This search has lead in several directions: to the traditional past (as we have seen most clearly in Czechoslovakia and Hungary); to a western outlook oriented towards European integration (more popular in urban areas); to a reaffirmation of regional or ethnic identity (as the Turks in Bulgaria and the Slovaks in Czechoslovakia); and to a strong affirmation of traditional religious institutions (such as the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and Hungary).

Nostalgia and traditionalism --

The implications for education are that at all levels, factionalism and disunity are emerging as stakeholders struggle to reaffirm personal identities that are sometimes discordant with their neighbor's. For example, in Poland and Hungary, some form of religious instruction is now required in the schools. In addition, in Hungary, a "new traditionalism" has lead the Ministry of Education to propose a required course in moral education. Curricular reform has been drawn simultaneously to the "classics" as well business-related subjects that will train students for participation in the evolving market economies. Below are some representative quotes from educational elites.

> Traditional values are central, especially in the elementary schools. For example, the traditional family -- not the modern or post-modern family. The government party is now anti-abortion. And there is a much greater emphasis on national symbols.
> --Peter Ti bor Nagy, Assistant Professor, University of Budapest, **Hungary**

> Right now there is a great nostalgia about the time before the war. I think it was a very bad [educational] system, but they think it was good...If you were a rich but stupid boy you could finish because there was some secondary schools that easily gave this certification [matura] -- a private school with very high tuition...
> --Peter Szebenyi, **Hungarian** Centre for Oszagos Pedagociai Intezet

> In the first place, the authorities [in the 9th century] introduced Christianity. There was strong repression against nonconformists. In order to guard against the Byzantium influence, Bulgarians established their own culture. And, in this respect, we should mention the cyrillic alphabet was created in Bulgaria, and later spread to Serbia, Russia and Yugoslavia...The Bulgarian people have always been strongly politicized. And the Bulgarians traditionally do not trust anyone, not even their king. And this is how our identity was retained, even despite 200 years of Turkish domination."
> --Dr. Dimitar Boutchkov, Professor, **Bulgarian** Academy of Sciences and Rektor, Sofia Technical University

Regionalism and ethnic nationalism --

Ethnic strife in all five Central East European countries has increased considerably over the last 18 months. There have been reports of increased harrassment of Jews, Romanians and guest workers, and most dramatically, a secessionist movement has revived in the Slovak region of Czechoslovakia. Personal identities and allegiances may be multiple and blurred in the post-revolutionary countries.

> The race problem is coming. Before we had workers from other countries concentrated in small parts, like the textile and paper industries. This was only a local problem. But now a lot of people are coming to East Germany from Romania, the USSR, from Yugoslavia -- from all the eastern countries...I think the German population is becoming more and more antagonistic against people from other countries.
> --Dr. Eckard Kienast, **East Germany**

> I am more a Prague citizen than a Czech citizen. Our self image as a nation is well established. We don't need to prove it all the time.
> --Dr. Hana Prochazkova, Deputy Director, European Centre for Further Education of Teachers, **Czechoslovakia**

The search for national identity is a quest separate from that of democratization, although the two may intertwine. For example, new democratic processes enable the reestablishment of private educational institutions and structures of the kind before a unified, comprehensive school system was installed. On the other hand, raffirmation of majority culture can lead to decreased tolerance of minority groups, which threatens a cultural prerequisite for democracy. It is obvious and worrisome that decreased tolerance will undermine the ability of schools to promote democratic culture.

Challenge 5: Building on previous educational reform and/ or role of intellectuals and students in the revolution

Two separate aspects of the reform movements -- educational reforms prior to 1989 and the role of university students and intellectuals in the political transformations-- affect educational change in this post-revolutionary period.

In all five countries, university students (particularly in urban areas) were important organizers and participants in the massive demonstrations crucial to the debilitation of the communist old guard

(although less so in Poland). Some of these students have since been elected to Parliament or are otherwise influential in promoting a student rights platform. The result has been an increase in university student rights in most of the Central East European countries.

Intellectuals have also gained prominance in the reform governments. In Hungary, intellectual reformers palatable to the government had been instituting changes from within for at least twenty years. According to many interviewees throughout the region, resistance in the 1980s was concentrated within the social sciences and humanities departments, with intellectual criticism of the government strongest in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The views of these intellectuals, particularly if they were espoused in formal educational reform agendas have gained considerable currency in this post-revolutionary period.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, East Germany (with some other East European countries following suit) began to conflict openly in public meetings with the Soviet Union. Many educational elites attributed this new found courage to the "Gorbachev factor" and the advent of glasnost in the USSR. According to Dr. Hoffman, Head of the Department of Comparative Education at the former Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the connection with the USSR in education was discontinued in 1986. After this, curricular reform agendas were aired in East Germany in a public forum. One plan proposed in 1986 had five points: pluralistic ideology within the comprehensive school system, a reemphasis on the social sciences, internationalism in the curriculum, student-centered and student-driven curriculum, and curriculum developed for varying ability level of students. Many of these points were adopted in later reforms.

In Poland, the major force for change, the Solidarity Worker's Union, had been seeking a revision of history books to fill in "the blank spots" (such as the Katyn Forest massacre) for a decade. These were among the first changes to be fully implemented after the revolution.

> Of course, the Solidarity movement was behind these [educational] reforms. Their history started in the vocational schools...because Solidarity wanted Polish workers to know Polish history. So Solidarity was the movement that pushed the Polish nation to make some explanation of what was the Polish nation...
> -- Krystina Yachna, Vice Director, Polish Institute of Vocational Education and Training

A provocative area for research would be the leadership roles of academics, particularly "humanist intellectuals", in the pre- and post-1989 revolutionary periods.

Challenge 6: Trust in/ view of government

Separate from the principle of democratic process is the fundamental trust that citizens feel towards their social and political institutions. New national governments in Central East Europe today are being put to the test on the basis of their performance. In particular, educational bureacracies that have long reflected the views of the Party-State are attempting to exercise new leadership for change, and one naturally wonders how receptive teachers, parents and students are to these centralized reforms.

In Poland and Bulgaria, elites said outright that they were struggling to exert leadership in an environment where the legitimacy of national institutions was actively called into question. Under this handicap, directing educational change (with the exception of decentralization, perhaps) is profoundly difficult. In contrast, one can hope that newly staffed local school systems will inspire more trust.

In any case, the rebuilding process cannot happen overnight. Timely action and visible success, therefore, is essential for giving national systems of education the popular legitimacy that will enable them to proceed with reform. As one member of the Polish Parliament put it, "Young democracies need satisfaction. Otherwise, they risk a return to authoritarianism."

V. REFLECTIONS ON CHANGE PATTERNS

In this paper, I have attempted to present an overview of the avenues for educational reform within the Central East European region as well as the immediate challenges to those ideas put forth by educational elites in August 1990. We might also anticipate that policymakers will struggle with three more questions in the upcoming years: How does one maintain educational quality as decisionmaking is decentralized? What and how does one define the ideal citizen? and What are the tradeoffs between educational quality/ choice and equality of access?

These questions are somewhat endemic to educational systems. However, given the complex history of the region, solutions may not be obvious or, alternatively, the obvious ones may not be

the wisest choice. Policymakers may too easily be attracted to policies whose strongest merit is that they contrast most with those of the former regime. Judgments may also be blurred by the need for quick and visible decisions in this period of political transformation.

Organizational control. It is a rather straightforward proposition that the more one decentralizes decisionmaking, the more difficult it is to maintain control over a system. In the wake of decentralization trends described in this paper, Ministries of Education are searching for a model where educational quality is ensured while local autonomy remains enhanced. This has led countries like Poland and Hungary to openly discuss national examinations and new educational indicators.

New nationalism. Within the region, the new sources of civic identity openly conflict with one another and threaten to undermine the establishment of democratic culture unless it is preceded by tolerance. Some policymakers are retracing their steps to the past and in a popular, nostalgic fervor are calling for reforms that imitate the educational system of the earlier part of this century. These systems maintained class divisions in their time and threaten to underline economic differences in the future. Other educators are referencing their long-standing ethnic and religious roots as a source of identity, which in these times can only result in decreased tolerance and increased factionalism on a national scale. Finally, some decisionmakers are looking to the future and stressing the need to develop a citizen who is able to take part in the emerging market economy. These reformists have as their objective integration into the European community and the promotion of skills that will enable success in a capitalist world.

Equality of access versus quality. A final source of concern is that the interest in reclaiming the past will move some of these countries too quickly towards educational forms that are obsolete in terms of promoting equality of access. Concerns for equality at the upper primary and secondary grade levels in particular may be sacrificed in the interest of "opening" up the schools to new forms. The reaction against an overly meedlesome state may result in a hands-off policy that will traumatize the system in the long run and fail to maintain widely accepted values of equality. Educational elites may not yet have grappled with the potential impact of new, privatized school forms and local funding of education on the quality of education.

For all the dilemmas outlined above, several pitfalls are quite evident. The first is that these new democracies will imitate too quickly those practices of its western neighbors, disregarding the altered cultural landmap of the past 40 years. One cannot begin where one left off 40 years ago . Every country in some way has been inalterably changed, not the least of which means that for better or worse, many of the values and expectations bred under the former communist system, such as equality of access at the primary grades, remain intact. Both policies are a source of considerable debate in many countries and if there is one simple lesson that can be relayed to Central East European countries it is that once policies have been established, they are very very difficult to alter. This is an argument for caution and reflection in a time when political circumstances mitigate against both. One hopes that the educational policymakers now in power will have the wisdom to seek out multiple perspectives and the foresight to anticipate a bumpy trial-and- error ride in the establishment of pluralistic, tolerant and participatory democratic culture.